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# THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION: FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS, ESSENTIAL TASKS

by **LE DUAN**
First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party

***ON the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) First Secretary LE DUAN has made an analysis of the great problems, essential tasks, principles and methods of the Vietnamese revolution. This most important document is indispensable to all those who wish to carry out a study in depth of Vietnamese problems; in certain respects, it also sheds light on several aspects of the world revolution. Pending full translation to be published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Viet Nam Courier presents some extracts to its readers. Passages in italics are ours.***

*IMMEDIATELY after its founding in 1930, the ICP took leadership of the national movement: mass movements and uprisings of 1930-1931, wide-scope political actions and movements in support of popular claims in 1936-1939. Then it successfully directed a political and armed struggle, begun as early as the start of the Second World War, against French colonialism and Japanese fascism, a struggle crowned with the great Revolution of August 1945 and the wresting back of national independence. The ICP was thus the first and only party (or political organization) to lead the national effort to victory. The rebirth of Viet Nam as an independent State has been the work of the popular masses under the leadership of the ICP. This national independence has had to be defended against powerful enemies: under the Party's direction, the war of resistance against French colonialism and that against American imperialism have been successfully waged. Over the past ten years, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has also made the Vietnamese revolution advance one new step: the first bases of socialism have been laid in the DRVN and the new regime has opposed a victorious resistance to American aggression.*

*All those achievements have been possible thanks to a judicious and creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete realities of a colonial and semi-feudal country such as Viet Nam. Viet Nam's revolutionary experiences will be introduced under the following aspects:*

**1. The Party, organizer of all victories.**

**2. Problems of revolutionary strategy.**

**3. Principles and methods of revolutionary action.**

**4. How to build socialism.**

## THE PARTY, ORGANIZER OF ALL VICTORIES

THE primary essential factor which decided all those historic successes was the founding of, and leadership by, our Party, **a new-type proletarian party holding firm the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism; a proletarian party which faithfully and fully represents the vital interests and legitimate aspirations of the working class, the labouring people, and the entire nation; a Marxist-Leninist party with a close-knit organization, a tradition of unity and oneness of mind, and close ties with the masses. (...)**

Our Party has achieved glorious successes in the people's national democratic revolution for it has solved in a sound and inventive manner a series of very basic problems on strategy and tactics:

— To establish and unceasingly consolidate the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party;

— To correctly **combine the two strategic tasks of fighting against imperialism and feudalism,** carrying out the latter task step by step, in close co-ordination with the former and helping it efficiently;

(*Continued page 7*)

**South Viet Nam:**

*PLAF attack a US base*

# Chemical Warfare in South Viet Nam

ON Feb. 17, in Hanoi, the representative of the Special Representation of the RSVN denounced to Vietnamese and foreign pressmen the chemical war conducted since 1961 by the Americans in South Viet Nam.

A press statement arraigned "the use of toxic gases and substances against the people, crops, cattle and poultry, sources of life to provoke famine and devastate the country and its natural resources."

Calling public attention to the intensification of chemical warfare since Nixon's inauguration, the statement cited the following facts and figures: in February 1969, toxic substances were sprayed dozens of times at Mount Co Ca Va in Thua Thien province; in March 1969, on several occasions, bombs and toxic gas cannisters were dumped on Chau Thanh district, Tay Ninh province. In 2 days, May 17 and 18, 1969, gases were resorted to on 34 occasions at Mount A Bia. On July 18 and 20, 1969, chemicals and more than 100 gas shells were used in the Mount Ba Den area, Tay Ninh province, killing many people among whom 30 children died on the spot, and poisoning thousands of others.

The statement pointed out that during Nixon's first 10 months at the White House, toxic substances were dumped on 905,780 hectares and 285,740 people affected, or respectively more than 91% and 94% of the 1968 figures, a record high under Johnson. These sprayings were concentrated on the Mekong Delta and the central coast, that is the most fertile and densely populated areas.

Among the effects of these criminal acts on the people, the statement mentioned blindness, deafness, mental troubles, cessation of lactation, abortion, etc... In the long run, these sprays engender soil sterilisation and the destruction of the fauna and flora. They defoliate the jungle canopy of the mountain areas and are thereby one of the causes of devastating floods.

The statement flayed the hypocrisy of Nixon who, on Nov. 25, 1969, in a bid to appease public opinion, declared renouncement of the use of chemical weapons but claimed retaining of tear gases and weed-killers which would continue to be used massively in South Viet Nam.

The South Viet Nam Committee to Denounce the US Imperialists and Puppets' War Crimes called on all governments, democratic and progressive organisations, political, juridical, scientific, religious and social figures to raise their voices and take concrete and positive actions to stay the hands of the US aggressors.

## ANOTHER US PLANE DOWNED IN NORTH VIET NAM

A US pilotless plane reconnoitring Vinh Phu province was downed on Feb. 16, 1970.

Total loss of US planes in North Viet Nam to date:

**3,333**

*55th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (Feb. 19, 1970)*

## Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy Reaffirms Viet Nam People's Resolve To Foil US Aggression

AT the 55th session of the Paris Conference, Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy, on behalf of the DRVN Government's delegation, once again pointed out that if a correct political solution was to be achieved for the Viet Nam war, it was important to trace back to the deep origin as well as the direct cause of the war. He said: "As US aggression is the knot of the Viet Nam problem, so if a settlement is to be arranged for the Viet Nam question, the knot should be untied, i.e. by ending US aggression and withdrawing all US troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp from South Viet Nam. While trying to solve the Viet Nam issue it is necessary to proceed from the fundamental fact that the US has been committing aggression against Viet Nam and that the Vietnamese people have been fighting against that aggression right in their own country, so that a correct and lasting peaceful solution could be found for the Viet Nam war."

He quoted the statement made by US Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird in Saigon on February 11, 1970 to show that the US was still unwilling to give up its aggressive scheme against Viet Nam, that it is trying to protract the war in South Viet Nam in an attempt to win a military victory by the "Vietnamization" program, lay down conditions for the pull-out of the US soldiery from South Viet Nam, maintain indefinitely tens of thousands of US occupation troops there and keep in power the Thieu-Ky-Khiem stooge administration abhorred by the entire South Vietnamese people, who are firmly determined to overthrow it. With regard to the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, the US was trying to downgrade the Conference with a view to eventually sabotaging it.

The DRVN Delegation representative also denounced the Nixon administration's stepping up "the special war" in Laos, intensifying its bombing of the liberated areas under the control of the Laotian patriotic forces, commanding and supplying the Vientiane troops in their encroachments against the liberated areas in the Plain of Jars. Recently the US Air Force was directly and massively involved in the fierce bombing against the Laotian liberated zone. Meanwhile, the US and its henchmen repeatedly violated the territory and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Cambodia, including by what they call "hot pursuit".

Dealing with Nixon's Viet Nam policy, Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy said that facing the American people's anti-war movement for an end to the war of aggression in Viet Nam, the Nixon administration had been resorting to a very perfidious double-dealing policy: on the one hand it had been using deceit to soothe public opinion, on the other it had been seeking every means to conceal the truth and brutally repress those Americans who courageously set their faces against the administration's war policy and manoeuvres.

He reiterated the positions of the DRVN and the RSVN PRG and again underscored the fair and logical character of the ten-point overall solution of the RSVN PRG which had been fully approved and supported by the DRVN Government, particularly concerning the question of withdrawal of US troops and troops of the other foreign countries in the US camp from South Viet Nam without posing any condition, and the setting up in South Viet Nam of a provisional coalition government responsible for the holding of general free and democratic elections to decide the political regime in South Viet Nam.

Reaffirming the determination of the entire Vietnamese people to defeat US aggression if the Nixon administration obdurately persists in its aggression, Mr Nguyen Minh Vy stated: "The United States and the Saigon puppet administration must bear all responsibility for the prolongation of the war and the continued deadlock of the Conference."

*Hanoi Press Opinion*

# A Warning to Melvin Laird

ON February 13, US Defence Secretary Melvin Laird gave a press conference before concluding his Viet Nam tour and leaving Saigon.

Many pressmen were reported by *Reuter* as asking Laird whether the American pilots flying over North Viet Nam have the right to fire first if they find it "risky" though not yet fired upon. If such a question was asked, it is because many people did not believe in the validity of the US assertion that the bombing of North Viet Nam territory was merely an act of "protective reaction" of the United States. Again according to *Reuter*, the US Defence Secretary did not directly answer the question but he intimated that these pilots had the right to make "pre-emptive air strike" in line with the "policy of protective reaction." He also mentioned what he called the "supposed understanding" reached at the time when the US was forced to stop bombing North Viet Nam in November 1968.

It is necessary to refute the fantastic allegations of the US Secretary of Defence in their entirety. Our Government and people on many occasions clearly stated that the bombing of the DRVN by the US was an illegal act and that the US had to stop it without any conditions whatsoever. We resolutely rejected all US claims for "reciprocity" which, in fact, amounted to demanding that the Vietnamese people paid a premium for US piratical acts. Having failed in its four-year war of destruction, the Johnson administration had to cease the bombardments against North Viet Nam. The Nixon administration's present claim of a "supposed understanding" is a mere distortion of truth aimed at justifying the US provocations.

We likewise firmly refute the allegation of Melvin Laird that it is for self-defence that the US is sending reconnaissance planes over North Viet Nam, that it is also for self-defence that these planes bomb and open fire when fired upon. This is the logic of a pirate. The US has no right to violate the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country.

In his statement, Laird also let it be known that while flying over North Viet Nam, US pilots have the right to "fire first" if they meet with danger. This clearly exposes the warlike intention of the Nixon administration. It means that the US government may send its pilots to bomb and strafe populated areas in North Viet Nam under the pretext that they have "met with danger."

Our people strongly denounce the encroachments upon the sovereignty and security of the DRVN by the US imperialists and their scheme to step up the bombing and strafing of North Viet Nam. We emphatically warn the Nixon administration that so long as the US pursues its aggression in South Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people will continue to fight back, and so long as the US goes on encroaching upon North Viet Nam airspace, they will mete out well-deserved punishment, and the full responsibility rests with the US imperialists".

**Nhan Dan** (*The People*)
Feb. 17, 1970







# LIGHT INDUSTRY SERVICE REVIEWS WORK

A conference has been held by the light industry service to review its work in 1969 and set forth the direction and tasks for 1970.

According to data released on the occasion, the branch achieved the 1969 production plan in gross output, in categories of main items turned out, in labour efficiency, production costs and capital accumulation. It fulfilled or even overfulfilled the targets set for 22 out of 35 main items. Labour efficiency per worker increased by 4 per cent. Production costs were cut by 0.3 per cent. In 1969, it contributed to the State funds 1.94 per cent more capital than planned.

As for the 1970 plan, efforts are concentrated on boosting the production of textile, paper, knitwear, wooden articles, earthernware and plastics and other items.

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# 7,700 NEW GRADUATES FROM POLYTECHNIC COLLEGE AND MEDICAL FACULTY

IN the last four years, the Polytechnic College and Medical Faculty have trained 7,700 engineers, economic managerial cadres and medical doctors.

Surmounting the difficulties created by dispersal to many places far from the capital, these institutions have continued functioning and guiding their students in field work, production, in the fighting and in helping improve the people's living conditions.

Part of the Polytechnic college staff has been detailed to set up three new schools: the Building College, the Mine College and the Light Industry College. Furthermore, many faculties and departments have been established by the Polytechnic College with an enrolment which has been swelling year after year. They include: economic management, plastics, semi-conductor production technique, electronic computors, etc.

The Polytechnic College also has a section to train applied physics and applied mathematics engineers and laid the foundations of an engineering section. At present, the school boasts 8 faculties, 32 sections and 57 departments attended by 6,000 students against 4 faculties, 17 sections and 30 departments enrolled by 4,600 students in the academic year 1966-1967.

Attendance of correspondence courses is more and more numerous, numbering 4,000 at present.

In the last 4 years, the school has trained in all 4,800 engineers and 335 economic managerial cadres.

For its part, in the same period, the Medical Faculty in Hanoi trained 2,600 medical doctors from workers', peasants' and other toiling people's families; 60 per cent of them are women.

*At the Hai Hung chinaware factory*

# A Young Hodwoman

*SINCE the time she scoured the country, shifting from one construction site to another, it is the first time that Kim Chung comes back to work on the bank of the Red River. She now can at leisure see it roll its turbid waters under a spring sky.*

*She is very fond of that river. When a child, she amused herself by building castles on its sandbank. Her dream has now come true. Grown up, she has helped build a lot of houses with its fine sand.*

*She thinks of spring when, through the casement windows of new buildings, she will see flowers blossoming, the spring when the silver sound of children's laughter will be heard in the red-tiled schools.*

*One morning, her fiancé tried to persuade her to leave her job as a hodwoman. No, she was categorical. She would compare herself to a bird tempted by the immense skies. Where it alights, there new urban centres spring up, new chimneys are erected. The hodwoman is... the builder of the future.*

*Ten years ago, when an adolescent, she already worked at a construction yard.*

*"I came forward for any work and any place where duty calls me to," she replied to the overseer who asked her a question.*

*"Well, carry lime to the masons."*

*She finished her work in no time.*

*"Well done!" said the man approvingly. "Tomorrow, wash the gravel for concreting."*

*The following day, she was seen busily plying between a heap of pebble and the concrete-mixer.*

*Since then, each spring has seen her at a construction site either in the desert highlands or in the populated delta, living now in a shanty, now in a mountaineer's hut. When towns replace the jungle and factories and buildings mushroom on the hills, she and her team would go elsewhere. They would live in huts again to build dwelling houses for others to live in.*

*Once, she teamed with a women's group who had put up the slogan "Song Tien" (vie with men in progress): they helped build an airfield.*

*As soon as they arrived at the construction site hacked out of the jungle, our women experienced a night bombing. They were kept awake by their impatience to start work for our Migs to take off.*

*Very early each morning, Kim Chung would lead her team to the working site, five kilometres away. Their clothes were wet with morning dew and torn by brambles. But nothing could make them flinch. They mowed down tiger grass, baring the soil. They plugged away at it thirty days running. Kim Chung carried concrete without a hitch through muddy paths.*

*Twice a week, she visited her mates working in scattered knots. To those who, disappointed by jungle life and by privation, wanted to return to the delta, she said, "To make revolution, we should have no axe to grind."*

*To boost labour productivity and carry through her task is all that she cares for. She puts in a record number of work-days, regularly surpasses the norm set, and gives out the bonuses she receives.*

*She always goes to work early to make mortar available to the masons when they come to the construction site. She manages in such a way that there would be no waste at the end of the day. She is the first to use concrete-mixer to wash gravel, thus saving time and labour.*

*She is not only quick but careful in her work. The buildings are made to last, she thinks. The building workers should leave nothing to be desired. So does Kim Chung. The most squeamish masons and the most meticulous technicians never complain of the mortar she prepares.*

*KIM Chung has no flowers at the construction yard to welcome spring. Nevertheless, behind her wheelbarrow, she is brimming with joy. For her, mortar is more than a building materiel. With socialism, it will make spring in her country.*

NFL Military Commentator on "Vietnamization"

# A PLAN DOOMED TO FAILURE

Editor's Note : *Cun Long, NFL well-known military commentator, wrote in January last an article on "Vietnamization", the trumpcard of Nixon's Viet Nam policy.*

*We give below extensive excerpts of the article.*

*"VIETNAMIZATION" of the war is an admission of the impotence of over half-a-million strong US army in its confrontation with the Vietnamese people.* Though compelled to withdraw their troops from Viet Nam, the war-makers in Washington have not given up their designs to prolong the war, secure a position of strength and shore up the rotten clique of US placemen. Therefore, since its very inception, "Vietnamization" has borne in itself the seeds of failure, and has been plagued by contradictions and weaknesses inherent in the position of strategic passiveness in which it came into being.

American main efforts are focussed on the building of the puppet army and on "accelerated pacification" whose aim it is to give a military support to the puppet administration and to brutally bring the South Viet Nam people to their knees.

What has become of "Vietnamization"?

*US tank captured by the PLAF*

**AMERICAN WEAPONS AND DOLLARS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BOLSTER UP THE DISINTEGRATING PUPPET ARMY FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS :**

1— The punch of an army lies in the morale of its troops and their combativeness. How can the Americans supply such factors to a demoralized and corrupt mercenary army fighting without an ideal and suffering setbacks after setbacks?

2— The brasshats of the puppet army are all incompetent and depraved people, versed in the art of concocting false reports and indulging in political speculations. They only massacre their fellow-countrymen and are only concerned with making money. Almost all of them are well-known traitors to the country. How can, with such commanders, the puppet army be on their own on the battlefield?

3— The People's Liberation Armed Forces grow in strength unceasingly and attack unremittingly, inflicting heavy losses on the Americans and puppets. According to the US Command in Saigon, the losses of the puppet army which amounted to one-third of the Americans' formerly have doubled in the last few months, so much so that to keep up its strength 70 per cent of this army must be made up of new recruits. One wonders what its casualties will be after the departure of the GIs and how, in these conditions, it can be set on its feet again?

4— The massive drafting to make good its losses only aggravates the puppet army's heterogeneousness. All the efforts of the Americans and their quislings can't stamp out the national consciousness of the peasants, workers, pupils, students, intellectuals and civil servants who are forced to don the much-despised uniform and who wait the first opportunity to join the people in their struggle against aggression.

Thus a mortal danger is looming large in the ranks of the puppet army.

**STEPPED-UP "ACCELERATED PACIFICATION" : BITTERER POPULAR HATRED**

TO widen their sway over the territory and people of South Viet Nam, the Americans have been speeding up the "accelerated pacification" plan, regarding it as the backbone of "Vietnamization". The Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique also acknowledged that their fate hung on the outcome of "accelerated pacification".

In fact, with this plan, the US and puppets reckon to broaden the security belt, ease the patriotic forces' pressure on their towns, bases and strategic communication lines. They hope also to be able to rake the human and material resources of the country in order to consolidate the puppet administration, reinforce the puppet army and secure a position of strength in all circumstances.

But facts showed that in 1969, though back-breaking, the popular struggle against "pacification" was substantially successful. In Central Trung Bo, between Da Nang and Cam Ranh, the patriotic forces held control of the free areas while in Southern Trung Bo, between Phan Rang and Ban Me Thuot, they occupied new territory. In the areas around Saigon, literally ploughed up by enemy bombs and shells, guerilla warfare kept developing and Saigon, Bien Hoa, Tan Son Nhut were constantly subjected to the PLAF attacks and bombings. In the Mekong Delta, all enemy's sweeps were fought off. By the end of the year, guerilla warfare and popular uprisings gained in momentum, thus landing the enemy in a greater quandary.

The inevitable fiasco of "pacification" is due to the following factors :

1 — However vicious and cruel the enemy may be, the South Viet Nam people, with their tradition of unyielding struggle, will never let themselves subjugated. In his reports, the enemy has given figures concerning garrisons or "strategic hamlets" set up by him to give the proof of his alleged control over the population, but never has he dared mention that he has "won the hearts and minds" of the people, a goal he has been striving after for a decade. On the contrary, the more brutal the enemy is, the bitterer the hatred and the greater the patriotism of the people grow.

2 — Never will the Americans and their quislings be able to conquer the "hearts and minds" of the people and to sever the revolutionary forces from the masses.

These forces stem from the patriotism and the hatred for the enemy of the 31 million Vietnamese. Even the national consciousness of a section of the puppet army and administration has been roused. The American aggressors and their stooges can massacre the population, churn up the South Viet Nam soil with bombs and shells, but they can never extirpate the revolutionary forces deeply rooted in the masses. Reversely, these forces go on developing till total collapse of the quislings and complete withdrawal of the American aggressors.

In 1959 and 1960, the revolution drew its strength simply from the people's hatred for the enemy. At present, it has powerful armed forces with three categories of well-equipped troops having a great combativeness, operating everywhere even in the enemy's safest sanctuaries and holding firm the initiative of action. They are furthermore supported by a full-fledged administrative apparatus which enjoys a steady mass support and an established reputation in the world. How can the enemy overcome such a force?

3—The "accelerated pacification" plan mapped out by a routed enemy at a time when it was in a great predicament will unquestionably run against a lot of contradictions and setbacks in the course of its implementation.

Formerly, the GIs served as "shields" for the puppet troops in their "pacification" raids. This disposition does no longer work. Now the quislings have to carry out alone the "pacification" task while gradually relieving the Americans in other duties. Formerly "pacification" was conducted with the co-operation of satellite troops, militiamen and civil guards; it is now undertaken by the militia and civil guards only. In such conditions, it is safe to say that the failure of "accelerated pacification" is a foregone conclusion.

**THE MORE DESPERATE THE ENEMY EFFORTS IN "VIETNAMIZATION", THE MORE BITTER HIS SETBACKS IN ALL FIELDS**

IN their military efforts, the Americans have been attaching great importance to the consolidation of the puppet administration. But here too, they have met with pitiful failures.

They left no stone unturned to broaden the composition of the puppet administration in order to put on it a facade of "democracy" and "representativeness". But finally, they had to prop up the despicable traitors Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky and single out Tran Thien Khiem as "premier" of a "cabinet" made up only of generals and ex-members of the Can Lao Party of the abhorred Diem - Nhu brothers, the most rabid and corrupt traitors. This explains the isolation of that administration.

The Yankees wanted to put their lackeys together in a bloc at the service of their immediate and long-term plans, but having a bone

*(Continued page 7)*



# The Revolt of US Academe

"THE decay of a social order," such was the diagnosis given by Herbert Aptheker who saw in the United States every symptom of alienation, irrationalism and disintegration. "Many are torn by doubt," *Newsweek* concluded in its special issue on American life. Professor Hans Morgenthau asked himself with deep concern : "What ails America ?" (*New Republic*, October 28, 1967). According to many an American intellectual, one of the major causes of the evil "lies in the unspeakable war oeing waged by the US government against the people of Viet Nam."

**NOW TENS OF THOUSANDS OF WAR RESISTERS**

IN March 1962, 62 American intellectuals sent President Kennedy another open letter which was in the main reminiscent of that of the 16. They shared the view of *The Nation* which regarded the Viet Nam war "as dirty and as cruel as the one waged by the French forces in Algeria, which so shocked the American conscience." They stressed : "The anti-Diem guerillas, led by the Vietcong (Vietnamese patriotic forces—*Ed.*) have captured more and

**THEY WERE 16 DISSIDENTS AT THE BEGINNING**

AS early as the first 60's, American intellectuals made a rather gloomy prognostic as regards the Asia policy of the White House. Carrying on the traditions of Benjamin Franklin, Walt Whitman, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Thoreau..., they threw in their lots with the fight against aggression. Professors, lawyers, writers, artists, scientists did not let pass the quibbles of the State Department, in spite of the appalling precedent of the Rosenbergs. Far from being intimidated by the revived spectre of McCarthyism, they took a clear-cut stand, as defined by Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University :

"The war in Viet Nam has taught many intellectuals that they must get out of their ivory tower.

"We have before us the case of German fascism. In Germany very few intellectuals openly opposed Hitler. One of them, Martin Niemoller, expressed their failure in these words : 'When the trade union fighters were imprisoned I was not a trade unionist, when the communists were jailed in concentration camps I was not a communist. And when the Jews were brought to gas chambers I was not a Jew. But when I was put in prison, it was too late.' We, American intellectuals opposing the war in Viet Nam, are determined not to wait until it is too late" (Speech to Hanoi intellectuals—1966).

The action of American intellectuals for the Vietnamese people started in 1962 with the famous "Letter of the 16" to President Kennedy, published by the *New York Times*. The signatories—among them Linus Pauling, a Nobel prize winner—summed up the problem as follows : "We wish to ask you, as individuals who believe that the only security for America lies in world peace, why at present the United States is sending its Army, Navy and Air Force to bring death and bloodshed to South Viet Nam, a small Asian country approximately 10,000 miles from our Pacific coast? The letter recalls that in a speech on the floor of the Senate, April 1954, Kennedy, then a Senator, tried to dissuade Eisenhower from interfering in the Indo-China War : "I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance can conquer an enemy which is everywhere and at the same time nowhere, 'an enemy of the people' which has the sympathy and covert support of the people."

The letter of the 16 and that of the 62 pointed out — early enough and in a comparatively correct way — the dominant characteristics of the Viet Nam problem.

The effort of American intellectuals and students has been gaining in depth and scope, especially after the start of air "escalation" against North Viet Nam and the massive landing of GI's in South Viet Nam. The Viet Nam war at first so remote from the preoccupations of the majority of the American masses has emerged as a reality of national life. It has ceased to be the "painless

## U. S. ADMINISTRATION'S PERSECUTION ARRAIGNED

THE Viet Nam Committee for Solidarity with the American People issued on Feb. 18 a statement protesting the US administration's condemnation of eight leaders of the US anti-war movement.

The statement reads as follows :

*"After the American people's anti-war campaign at the end of August 1968 before the Democratic Party's Hall in Chicag, the US administration prosecuted eight leaders of the American people's anti-war movement, including Dave Dellinger, Bobby Seale, Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubbin, Abbie Hoffman, Lee Veiner and John Froines.*

*"On November 5, 1969, the Chicago Federal Court sentenced Bobby Seale to 4 years' imprisonment. On February 14 and 15, 1970, it sentenced the other 7 Chicago defendants and both attorneys William Kunstler and Leonard I. Weinglas from 6 to 30 months' imprisonment for so called 'contempt of court'."*

The statement pointed out :

*"This blatant crack-down is part of the US administration's scheme to sap the anti-war movement developing among broad sections of the American people, especially to deal with the "Spring Offensive Against the War in Viet Nam" which is beginning. It completely contravenes justice and the US constitution which provides for the right to disagreement in opinion by the citizens and runs counter to the time-honoured democratic tradition of the American people. It proves the US administration's failure to appease public opinion with demagogy and deceit."*

more American weapons from the apathetic Diem troops and are increasingly using American-made rifles, machine-guns and mortars to shoot down American helicopters operated by US fliers. The number of Americans killed and wounded steadily grows. South Viet Nam could become America's Algeria." They paid tribute to the National Front for Liberation, "a coalition of different political parties, ethnic groups and religious communities," thereby tearing to shreds the official claim that the Vietcong—i.e. the NFL—was but a handful of terrorists.

war," as Walter Lippmann put it.

Teach-ins have been held on university and college campuses. One of the first in date—with numerous repercussions at home and abroad — was the 36 - hour "Viet Nam Day" at Berkeley — (California) in May 1965. It was the work of a group of students and professor of the Berkeley — San Francisco community. They declared their opposition to all American intervention, in Viet Nam, in the Dominican Republic or elsewhere ; as a revolutionary drive for self-determination was sweeping through the world,

repression by the US was immoral and a threat to world peace. On May 21 and 22, the Berkeley protest conference attracted at least 35,000 people and reached by radio another 500,000 people. 40 speakers condemned the "genocidal" war against the Vietnamese people as a cynical and gross betrayal of the American heritage.

The number of intellectual war protesters has increased rapidly : whereas in 1962 only 16 signed the letter to Kennedy, a petition condemning the US military adventure and inviting the American people to oppose it appeared in 1966 in the *New York Times* with 6,400 signatures of outstanding personalities of science and technique. 4,000 professors signed another petition headlined : "Mr. Johnson, End the Bombing !" also published by the *New York Times* (January 14, 1967). The same document was re-printed on the 22nd of the same month, signed by 6,750 professors and teachers of 287 schools from 37 States ; 5,000 scientists among them 17 Nobel prize winners and 129 academicians demanded that Johnson stop using gas and other toxic chemicals against men and crops in South Viet Nam (Feb. 13, 1967) ; 5,000 doctors and nurses signed a petition demanding the ending of the bombing of North Viet Nam (March 22, 1967). In the Summer of 1969, many intellectuals and representatives of various mass organisations launched an important appeal condemning Nixon's obduracy and calling on the American people to protest against the Viet Nam war. The new Mobilization Committee summoned in July an antiwar National Congress whose program of action was carried out during last Autumn.

**TURMOIL IN EVERY BRANCH OF CULTURE**

DISSENT from the Viet Nam war varies in form with different professions.

A 26-page note of the Lawyers' Committee on American Policy Toward Viet Nam particularly aroused world-wide interest. The lawyers came to the regrettable but inevitable conclusion that US acts in Viet Nam ran counter to the main provisions of the UN Charter, violated the Geneva Agreements whose implementation, the US had undertaken not to disturb, and transgressed the US Constitution itself.

Artists and writers refused to support the White House Literature and Arts Act. According to Arthur Miller, gigantic US air strikes made under cover of thick clouds resulted but in immense sufferings for the civilian population in Viet Nam and death for women and harmless children. He held that he was not alone to be aware of the objectives of the war ; when guns thunder, arts die, and this law of life is stronger than any law invented by man.

Certain poets sent back awards to the administration. Robert Lowell, supported by twenty of his peers, boycotted the Art Festival. In the anthology *Where Is Viet*

*(Continued page 7)*

*40th Founding Anniversary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (Feb. 3, 1930 — Feb. 3, 1970)*

# MESSAGES OF GREETING

*(Excerpts)* *

## From the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party

THE 19th Congress of the French Communist Party held at the very moment when the Vietnamese people are commemorating the 40th founding anniversary of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party led by the much-mourned-for Comrade Ho Chi Minh, warmly hail the Vietnamese people who have been fighting for decades against colonialism and imperialism.

It expresses its admiration for the historic successes they have recorded in their struggle against US aggression.

It conveys to the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation its most fraternal sentiments.

The DRVN, hard hit by imperialistic aggression, has been pursuing through thick and thin its victorious march to socialism. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, whose formation has established the authority of the people's power, testifies to the failure of the Saigon quislings and the certainty of an independent, neutral, democratic and peaceful South Viet Nam.

Our 19th Congress declares wholehearted solidarity with the righteous resistance of the Vietnamese people for national salvation, for their fundamental rights to independence, sovereignty, national integrity and unity.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression is one of the main aspects of the confrontation between socialism and imperialism on a world scale.

The US massive intervention aims at bullying the colonized peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and inducing them to believe that all hope of liberation is fabooed. It is a threat against the enjoyment of the popular sovereignty of nascent independent states.

The victories of the Vietnamese people is of great historical significance. They testify to the vulnerability of US imperialism and prove that the balance of forces is and will be tipped in favour of socialism and of the democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

...The French Communist Party will continue to stage mass actions to enlist wider support for the constructive proposals of the DRVN, the NFL and the PRG of the RSVN, in orcer to force the US government to stop blocking the progress of the Paris Conference, to isolate the aggressor and compel him to totally and unconditionally withdraw his troops.

It will step up the effort it has put up since the first day of US aggression and will increase its political support to the just cause of the Vietnamese people.

It will take an active part in the spring campaign and work for its success.

The ties between the vanguard of the French proletariat and the Vietnamese revolutionary forces are timehonoured. We are proud that Comrade Ho Chi Minh was one of the founders of our Party, one who, nearly fifty years ago, at the Tours Congress, contributed to giving it a definitely anti-colonialist trend.

## From the CC of the Thai Communist Party

THE splendid victories won by the Vietnamese people in their fight against US aggression and for national salvation constitute a considerable contribution to the movement of the world's peoples against US imperialism. The Thai people regard the Vietnamese people as their close comrades-in-arms. Led by President Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Nam Workers' Party and people have been staunchly supporting the Thai people's revolutionary effort. Meanwhile, the Thai people have been, as ever, actively helping the brother Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation.

## From the CC of the Indonesian Communist Party

THE Vietnamese people are waging at present a successful people's war to defend the North, liberate the South and foil the aggression of the US imperialists and their lackeys in order to reunify the country. Their signal achievements in this people's war are a great encouragement to the revolutionary peoples throughout the world and an important contribution to the struggle against US imperialism. In compliance with President Ho Chi Minh's last wishes and prompted by a grim determination to fight and to win, they have developed their fighting spirit to the utmost, braving all difficulties in their long resistance war and delivering frequent blows at the US imperialists.

* *See* Viet Nam Courier No 256.

## DRVN FOREIGN MINISTRY CONDEMNS ISRAELI AGGRESSORS' CRIMINAL RAIDS

AFTER many attacks against the Arab countries, Israeli planes bombarded on Feb. 12, 1970, the Abu Zandal steel works in the periphery of Cairo, killing 10 and wounding 50 civilians — a new challenge to, and criminal act against, the UAR.

On Feb. 15, the DRVN Ministry of Foreign Affairs made public a statement strongly condemning Israeli aggression and assuring the Arab and Palestinian peoples of the sympathy and support of the Vietnamese people for their righteous struggle. The statement stressed: **"The Vietnamese people and DRVN Government resolutely urge that the Israeli aggressors put an immediate end to provocation against Arab countries and to the terrorist and repressive acts against the population of Arab territories under their control. Israel must totally and unconditionally withdraw its troops from these areas and fully respect the national rights of the Arab peoples in the Middle-East."**

# *"Neutralization of the Plain of Jars Only Serves U.S. Aggressive Aims"*

*At a recent press conference in Hanoi, Mr Phao Phimphachanh, Director of the Laotian Patriotic Front's Information Bureau in Hanoi, made a statement on the Vientiane authorities' proposal to "neutralize" the Plain of Jars. Below are excerpts of the statement:*

"THE Plain of Jars—Xieng Khouang area is part of the free zones controlled by the Laotian patriotic forces since 1961. For many years, the US imperialists have been nurturing the perfidious scheme to occupy that region which is an important strategic area of Indo-China. In 1963, Prince Souvanna Phouma capitulated himself to the rightists and, taking advantage of this fact, the US imperialists sent US advisors and puppet troops to illegally occupy the place.

"But this plan has fizzled out: since 1964, as the attacks on Laos by the US Air Force began, the US imperialists and their Vientiane stooges have repeatedly thrown dozens of battalions against the free areas south, west and north of Xieng Khouang in an attempt to occupy the Plain of Jars. Their Operation *Kou Kiet* (Honour Saving) which began in August 1969 involved about fifty choppers to ferry rightist troops including some fifty battalions of Vang Pao "special forces" and 5,000 Thai combat troops directly commanded by hundreds of American and Thai officers; the enemy attacked the Plain of Jars, the chief towns of Xieng Khouang, Khang Khay, Phonsavane, Lat Huong, and implemented the "Three-All" policy of genocide (loot all, kill all, burn all-*Ed.*), perpetrating atrocious crimes unheard-of in the history of Laos.

"This Operation *Kou Kiet* confirms more convincingly than ever that the US imperialists are the aggressors of Laos, that they organize and direct all illegal encroaching attacks against the free areas under the control of the Laotian Patriotic Forces and increase the atrociousness of their special war in Laos; that they incite the Vientiane administration, including Prince Souvanna Phouma, to betray their Fatherland and the Laotian people, and to sell out the independence, neutrality and sovereignty of Laos.

"The proposal made by the Vientiane treasherous administration represented by Prince Souvanna Phouma — on the neutralization of the Plain of Jars—aims only at serving the aggressive ambitions of the US imperialists who resort to such a brazen political manoeuvre to lay hold of the strategic area of that Plain which they have been unable to occupy by force of arms, to legalize their occupation, drive the LPF out of that region and spearhead public opinion against the DRVN in order to cover up their vicious, blatant manoeuvre.

"The LPF and patriotic neutralist forces strongly denounce that brazen political trick of the US imperialists and their lackeys. We once again make it clear that the Plain of Jars — Xieng Khouang free area is under the legal control of the LPF and patriotic neutralist forces. We have many a time declared it is our right to fight off all encroaching attacks by the US imperialists and their myrmidons and to punish them wherever they commit crimes."



# FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS, ESSENTIAL TASKS

(Continued from page 1)

— To rally the large forces of the peasantry, successfully build a firm **worker-peasant alliance**, the main force of the revolution and the key guarantee of the exclusive leadership of the party of the working class;

— On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the Party has set up a broad **National United Front**, which brings together all patriotic and progressive forces and directs the spearhead of the revolution against the common enemy of the nation;

— **To make a skilful use of the enemy's internal contradictions** to divide them, neutralize all forces which can be neutralized, isolate the most dangerous foe, and create more favourable conditions for the development of the revolution;

— To make a flexible and accurate application of revolutionary methods, to utilize all forms of organization and struggle suited to each period, **to build the political forces of the masses as a foundation on which to set up revolutionary armed forces.** When a revolutionary situation prevailed, the Party has used both political and armed forces, combined military with political struggle, attacked the enemy in both the rural and urban areas and won victories step by step, advancing towards complete victory.

— To consolidate and strengthen the **people's democratic power**, the great achievement of the revolution, and use it as an efficient instrument in waging the war of resistance and building the new society;

— To realize **international unity** on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Over the past ten years and more, while completing side by side with our Southern fellow-countrymen the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country, we in the North have assigned to the people's democratic State the historic role of the **dictatorship of the proletariat** in taking the North on a transition to socialism through the simultaneous accomplishment of **three revolutions**: the revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, with **the technical revolution as the keystone.** Carrying out the socialist revolution is still a new thing for us; but the realities of the past ten years and more allow us to affirm that the basic orientation in the North's advance towards socialism, as put forward by our Party, is a wholly correct one.

The great experiences of the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years bear testimony to the successes of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country. The history of our Party over the past forty years is the history of the imaginative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Lenimism to the concrete conditions of our country. Born and growing up in a society in which the majority of the population is made up of peasants, our Party has drawn into its ranks a large number of members sprung from the peasantry. Yet it has constantly and wholly preserved its character as a revolutionary party of the working class, first and foremost because it is imbued with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, shows absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, because its political and organization line is a Marxist-Leninist one, that of the working class. Being a radically revolutionary doctrine and the only one that is scientific, Marxism-Leninism, like a beacon, has guided our Party in solving all problems of the Vietnamese revolution and in working out correct revolutionary line and methods, thereby defeating the reformism of the bourgeoisie and the narrowly nationalistic trend of the petty bourgeoisie which claims to "stand above classes", foiling the acts of provocation and sabotage of the Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary elements, overcoming political vacillations, right and "left" deviations within the Party, and successfully fulfilling all revolutionary tasks in all periods.

Our Party attaches primary importance to the study of the revolutionary experiences of the brother countries and parties, considering it an absolutely necessary condition for a proletarian party wishing to discharge its responsibilities. But our Party always starts from the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution, and the living realities of Vietnamese society with its original features — historical, sociological, economic, national tradition, etc. —, in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, universal laws, and experiences of the brother countries in the national democratic as well as socialist revolution. It is precisely because the revolutionary line and methods have been elaborated in such an independent and creative manner that the Vietnamese revolution has reaped such tremendous victories.

*(To be continued)*

### TO THE READER

*We are aware that there is much room for improvement in the wording of our paper. We apologize for this shortcoming and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.*

# *A Plan Doomed to Failure*

*(Continued from page 4)*

to pick, they were at each other's throat and the "six-party front" so painstakingly patched up by Thieu, was soon disintegrated.

Never has the puppet administration's economy been so ailing and dependent on the US. Prices have been soaring, inflation is rife, the budget shows a deficit of over half-a-billion dollars. To remedy this state of things and also to fish in troubled waters, Thieu-Ky-Huong decreed the "austerity taxes", which raised the prices of nearly 2,000 commodities, and made things mush harder for the masses.

The setbacks sustained by the aggressors in all fields in Viet Nam have been boomeranging on the economic and political situation in the United States.

Nixon has been resorting to demagogy to enlist the approval of the American people. But the struggle for an end to the war and repatriation of GIs has been stepped up in the US. Millions of people took part in the "Moratorium Day for Peace in Viet Nam", an unprecedented movement in the history of the US. Ex-servicemen returning from Viet Nam, once back in their right mind, publicly castigated US crimes against the Vietnamese people, which deeply shocked public opinion in the US and the world.

A second front has been set up within and without the US. To face it, Mr Nixon and his confederates have stuck at no trick to change the situation by slandering the Vietnamese people. But the ten-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the cogent indictments of the Delegations of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at the Paris Conference have exposed the US criminal designs. In their struggle for independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people enjoy an ever stauncher support and assistance from progressive people in the world.

All the socialist camp and many nationalist countries immediately recognized the PRG after its formation and established diplomatic relations with it.

Washington has sought by all means to drum up world support. In his Asian trip, Nixon boasted of the Apollo exploits, but was booed by Asians who said he would better go to the moon and leave Viet Nam to the Vietnamese! Rockfeller sent by Nixon as emissary to Latin America, had to cancel his trip. Rogers, Laird and Agnew were greeted with angry cries wherever they went. The staffs of various US embassies have frequently heard "Down with periaism, get out of Viet Nam!" chanted right in front of their missions.

Should Mr Nixon not bring himself to face facts and continue the "Vietnamization" of the war, he would only suffer more disastrous setbacks.

# The Revolt of US Academe

*(Continued from page 5)*

*Nam?*, 87 poets among them Ferlinghetti, Ginsberg, Lowell..., condemned US intervention in Viet Nam. Numerous recite-ins against the war were organized. In January 1966, sculptors set up a 20m-high tower to hang works by 1,000 well-known painters condemning aggression. 2,000 people attended the first soirée of the artists' and writers' Week of Protest against War (Jan. 29, 1967). During one month, painters, sculptors and photographers exhibited works to be sold in favour of children victims of US napalm (March 1967). In the framework of the November moratorium (1969), the stage actors' Committee for Peace in Viet Nam held a 5,000 people rally in New York.

Civil disobedience among American intellectuals has flared up into open rebellion. On January 31, 1968, 448 writers and journalists stated they would not pay the 10% war extra-taxes the US President had asked Congress to endorse. In April 1967, 2,000 intellectuals launched an appeal against unjust power to support the anti-draft campaign. Worthy of note is Dr Spock, the outstanding paediatrician whose pocket-book on care to babies and children sold up to 10,000,000 copies. Accused with 4 other "conspirators" of anti-draft activities, the eminent doctor courageously declared:

"During the Nuremberg trials following World War II, our government maintained that a person who is given orders which entail crimes against humanity is obliged legally as well as morally to disobey those orders and to disobey his government. We believe that we are not guilty because our government is committing crimes against humanity in Viet Nam. It is the war which is illegal." *(Dr Spock on Viet Nam — 1968).*

IT is not possible to enumerate all the heroic attitudes and bold initiatives of anti-war intellectuals in the US. Their action — whether individual or collective — is all the more effective as many of them put a great confidence in the sound reaction of the American people whose movement against aggression has kept growing. "The masses of people will become persuaded that they are being fed a diet of deceit and will demand a change of menu" (H. Aptheker).

Paying a heartfelt tribute to the American intellectuals, the Vietnamese intellectuals wrote to them: "You have assumed the high responsibility of the contemporary intellectuals, you have awakened the American people's conscience. You are struggling to defend American honour which is being smeared, preserve the American people's rights which are being violated, remove the threat posed to civilization and the future of mankind. Your valiant effort is a great stimulant to us. We are deeply grateful to you for it." (Letter of the Committee Against the US-Puppet Persecution of South Vietnamese Intellectuals).

# GUERILLAS AND REGIONAL TROOPS' NEW EXPLOITS

**Saigon Area:**

— US gun emplacement near Bu Dop bombarded: many enemy troops and three 105mm cannons and 2 choppers put out of action (Feb. 1, 1970).

— Violation of *Tet* truce punished: about 100 enemy casualties, 8 tanks and armoured cars destroyed in Tay Ninh province (Feb. 5-7), 75 adverse troops (35 GIs) disabled in Bien Hoa province on Feb. 5.

**Mekong Delta:**

Vinh Thuan subsector CP stormed: 80 enemy casualties (Feb. 3).

**Da Nang Region:**

— An enemy sweep and two positions in Thang Binh district attacked: 155 enemy soldiers knocked out (Feb. 1-3).

**Western High Plateaux:**

— 24th military sector CP at Kontum, Vo Dinh subsector CP and two logistic bases pounded by PLAF artillery: heavy enemy casualties, 2 ammunition depots burnt.

# *At a Village under "Pacification"*

*Editor's Note:* The villages located along the communication lines and near urban centres in South Viet Nam are frequently subjected to "pacification" raids. However the enemy constantly meets with a stubborn armed and political resistance from the inhabitants. The following story prepared from a report by *Giai Phong* Press Agency tells of what was happening at Y. village near the US military complex in Da Nang.

*Y. village inhabited by about 5,000 souls is bristled with fortifications defended by 3,000 men ("pacification" teams and 1,800 GIs).*

*In a hut so near an enemy post that the swears of rowdy soldiers could distinctly be heard, we were received by the village militia head and his assistant, a smiling town woman who told us the story of the popular struggle.*

*After the Spring 1968 events, the enemy tightened its grip over the village by garrisoning two or three battalions there. The first to come, GIs and "pacification" agents, were greeted by mine explosions and traps and took 42 casualties. The enemy went berserk. But the inhabitants filed a protest against the order to demolish dwelling houses. A bulldozer was blown up by a mine and about twenty GIs machine-gunned to death by five guerillas.*

*The enemy broke into the village, GIs in the lead, followed by local guards and agents of all stripes. They set up 14 posts surrounded by barbed wire entanglements; Y. village was cut into two zones, the first one turned into a no man's land by the destruction of everything standing. The ground was levelled flat and graves profaned.*

*"The tombs of our ancestors are desecrated. Let's defend at all costs the soil of our Fatherland!"*

*This poignant appeal was answered by the people who immediately put up a fierce fight. Over one thousand villagers removed the barbed wire in front of enemy bayonets. Two motorized vehicles were destroyed and guerilla warfare was stepped up. The enemy gave up the establishment of a white zone and classified Y. as a V.C. village. He unleashed his troops against the V.C. as a security precaution. Local reactionaries came back in the enemy's vans and resumed their evil activities. But neither threat of denunciation, nor the shells which poured regularly on dwelling houses could bend the people's will. The inhabitants lent the guerillas a most helping hand and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.*

*The villagers who were forced to take part in the election of the rural council organized by the quislings turned their backs on Thieu's portrait.*

*"Why don't you show more respect for President Thieu?" shouted a myrmidon.*

*"He is your president, not ours," replied an old man.*

*A noisy brawl then broke out, interrupted suddenly by the explosion of a hand grenade thrown amidst the enemy agents. The crowd was dispersed, and thus ended the election which had had such a bad start.*

*One day, alerted by the explosion of two mines at the passage of a military convoy, a puppet officer set out with his batman to investigate. Hardly had he came to the road when a burst of machine-gun fire mowed him and his man down. Twenty one sappers were also killed by other explosions which wrecked two tractors. A GI fell into a spike-trap and screamed madly until he was saved by eight armoured cars. That night fourteen fortified points were violently shelled. The GIs never knew how seven of our sappers had managed to inflict on them such heavy damage.*

*The GIs lost their heads because of these staggering blows. They tried to terrorize the inhabitants into showing them V.C. hiding places.*

*"They are in my heart," said proudly old P., who stabbed the nearest lackey.*

*The enemy was so afraid of the people that he seldom ventured out and when he did so he proceeded most warily.*

*A MP lieutenant disregarded the orders. He went to old P., who called in his wife and little daughter and said: "Kill a chicken to entertain the lieutenant."*

*His wife entered the room, shut the door and fell upon the quisling, trying to disarm him with the help of the old man and the girl. Just at that time her son came home together with two guerillas and the officer was quickly overcome.*

*A few days later, P. and his son went to a pub and executed S., an infamous sanguinary tyrant in the area. After sticking a death warrant on his chest, they returned quietly to their farming.*

*Another day, two old women of a house in which a large patrol was billeted, stole two M.26 hand grenades and killed many soldiers. Frightened, the survivors shot at random and their bullets hit the GIs on the other side of the road. Believing that it was a V.C. attack, the Yankees returned fire, but the two old women had already vanished safe and sound.*

*At Y. village, the enemy is enmeshed in the tangle of the people's war which ceaselessly draining his strength.*

# NEW HERO-UNITS AND HERO-FIGHTERS CITED

ON the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the merging of South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, the Provisional Revolutionary Government Council of the Republic of South Viet Nam awarded the title of "hero" to 10 units and 18 fighters of the PLAF:

2 hero-fighters for Southern Trung Bo,

4 hero-units and 7 hero-fighters for Eastern Nam Bo,

3 hero-units and 4 hero-fighters for Central Nam Bo,

1 hero-unit and 2 hero-fighters for Western Nam Bo,

and 2 hero-units and 3 hero-fighters for Saigon area.

Among the newly-honoured units were 4 infantry companies, one artillery company, 3 battalions, one surgical unit and one engineering unit.

The list of hero-fighters included 2 women, 8 officers of the regular army, 8 officers of regional forces and 2 guerillas. Six were promoted posthumously.

This was the second time in two months that such distinctions were conferred by the PRG on units and fighters in South Viet Nam.

## *In the Saigon Cockpit*

## THE PRESIDENT'S SECRET-SERVICE MONEY

THE paper *Chanh Luan* (Just Opinion), published "legally" in Saigon on Dec. 27, 1969, related the following comments made the day before by "Senator" Ho Son Dong at the puppet Senate:

"It should not be forgotten that South Viet Nam counts only 17 million inhabitants. With a population figure so modest, the annual 400-million secret service money allotted to the President of the Republic is unconceivable in our eyes as well as in the eyes of the entire people. We have been too permissive in the past years, something which has permitted the Executive to buy the support of such and such persons. It is evidently a shame on the State to have persons who put on sale their conscience at the rag-fair. But what is more important is that the Executive has used the secret funds to bribe those people."

## THE "AUSTERITY" POLICY

THE following remarks were made by "Vice-President" Nguyen Cao Ky at the annual gala of the (puppet) Reservist Officers' Friendly Society on Dec. 29 last by the Saigon paper *Tieng Noi Dan Toc* (Voice of the Nation):

"The policy of 'austerity' should be applied only to those who do not do the fighting and who live securely in the shadow. As for us, after having enjoyed the delights of a good music..., at the end of the banquet we are going to move to the dancing floor overthere to dance with pretty girls. Sure, the fact that we dance while the government advocates a policy of austerity can draw fire from public opinion. However, in my opinion, that is something for non-combatants. We fighters have the right to have some fun to partly compensate for our efforts and our sacrifices."

It is however an open secret that Saigon's officers are reputed not for their combativeness but only for their political and financial speculations.

8 *Index 12622 — Printed in Hanoi—Signed for printing on Feb. 21, 1970.*